Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam)*: Before withdrawing the resolution I just want to bring to the notice of the Government a statement by Raja-sevanipuna Dr. C. O. Karunakaran. He has given scientific reasons and has held that hand-pounded rice is superior to the milled rice. He opposes the continuing of rice-mills and pounding paddy in mills. I do not want to go through this passage any further. I place for the consideration of the Government that even on the helth point of view this has to be stopped. I do not press the motion to a division in the light of the kind assurances of the Hon'ble President and also that of the Hon'ble Civil Supplies Commissioner. I beg leave of the House to withdraw the resolution.

Resolution, by leave, withdrawn.

Resolution No. 21

Demand for Full Responsible Government at the end of the war

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam)*: I move that "*This Council recommends to the Government that His Highness the Maharaja may be requested to declare that full responsible Government will be granted at the end of the War.*" Such resolutions have been brought before this House several times before, we are enjoying a partial responsible government even now in our small State. This House has once demanded immediate responsible government. I am not objecting for the transfer of some more departments to the Minister as demanded by this House last time. This House has once demanded even a Council of Ministers. But my resolution is not against any of these resolutions. I just want to fix a time for the grant of full responsible government. I think it is improper at this time to demand full responsible government during this war time. Full responsible government should not any how be postponed one day more after the war. This war is a fight between autocracy and democracy. The success of the democracy is a fact,—I mean a foregone conclusion. We are not going to believe that democrats like Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Chiang-Kie-Shaik are going to have end the peace conference without deciding Full Responsible Government to every native State in India under the aegis of each of the Rulers. If India is going to be independent, the native states cannot continue a day without giving fully responsible government. So we request that His Highness the Maharaja's Government be pleased to declare at least as the goal of full responsible government will be fixed finally to be the end of the war. Meanwhile all the resolutions which have been previously passed in this connection for giving more and more departments to the Minister may also be brought into effect by the Government one by one in different stages. I commend this motion for the acceptance of the House.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Mr. President, I have very great pleasure in seconding this all important resolution. This Honourable House is now 18 years old. It has become a major already. From the very day of its inauguration Sir, grant of responsible government, grant of full responsible government has been engaging the attention of this Hon'ble House in various shapes and forms. There were days Sir, when there was no response from the government to this persistent request from the representatives of the people. This naturally lead this Hon'ble House to the only drastic constitutional course open to them, namely to throw out the budget, though infructuous. But still after a budget is thrown out and the government is carried on under the certification powers enjoyed by the Government, there is an amount of odium attached to it. The unresponsiveness of the then government forced us, Sir, in the years 1105 and 1106, that is within but 5 or 6 years after the inauguration of this Council, to take to that drastic course. But the Government was carried on as I submitted before under the certification powers with all the odium attached to such process of running the Government. But it is happy to note, Sir, that, not long after, we were taken to a happy era when the authorities thought it proper to respond to the demands of the Public and we have the now famous declaration on the fourth January 1938. Under that, we are now enjoying at least diarchy. It was at that, time attempted by a few to criticise the grant of partial reform in the shape of diarchy on the ground that it is a thricecursed thing as shown by its working in British Indian Provinces. But, Sir, the working of diarchy in this State clearly shows that there is a difference between the working of diarchy in British India and in this State. To my thinking and as believed by a large portion of the Public, diarchy in this State is working satisfactorily. It has worked satisfactorily, it continues to work satisfactorily and with that experience before us, with those hard facts staring us we as realists began to whittle down our demand of full responsible government as realised to the transfer of more departments to be administered by a minister or more ministers. We have a resolution already passed at the last Vrischigam meeting to the effect that more departments may be transferred to be administered by a Minister or more ministers than one. I

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trust that matter is now engaging the attention of the Government. But a sufficiently large time for a decision upon that question is now passed and nothing tangible has come out yet. Hence the necessity for this resolution, to press upon the Government to translate into action the promise that they have held out in the constitution Act and various subsequent utterances of Government. There is no difference of opinion between the non-officials and the Government has always been the slogan of the Government. We are working towards the same end the Government used to say. The only difference between the Government and the non-official side is with regard to the question of time. Government would say "in the fulness of time we would give you full responsible Government." We would demand "if possible immediately, if not possible immediately, at least at a marked time". That is the only difference between the Government of Cochin and the non-officials. We have shown Sir, by the working of diarchy that we are fit to have more powers transferred to us. I understand that after the resoultion was passed, the Diwan had been pleased to recommend the granting of that resolution or a portion of that resolution. We now request His Highness the Maharaja through this resolution that He may be pleased to grant our Vrischigam prayer as early as possible. We are now meeting for the last meeting of the legislative session of this year. The next meeting will be the budget session of 1118 towards the close of this year. (Voice: why not dissolve this Council?) We are indifferent as to whether it is a new council or a continuation of this Council. This proposition is sure to be considered by the Budget session of the Cochin Legislative Council whatever its personnel be. By a series of proved facts we have shown to the Government, Sir, that we are fit to have more responsibility transferred to us or in other words to have more departments transferred to be administered by a minister or more ministers. And if our wish is not translated into action by the Government it will not be far out of place, or rather it will be incumbent upon this house to take to the only available course open to them. That is only to press upon the attention of the Government and the outside world, the latter more than the former, not that it is going to bear fruit, not that it will paralyse the government but simply to rivet the attention of the Government on our demand. I think I am sufficiently expressive. It will be the duty of this Legislative Council, Sir, with its traditions behind it to try that only experiment, the throwing out of the budget if need be. But it is our particular desire, Sir, that when you are at the head of the administration of the State and we are having a benevolent Maharaja desirous of having all round contentment that rather unpleasant situation of carrying on the administration by certification should not arise. It is something which we do not want to see in your days, although we have seen in the days of your predecessors Government being carried on by certification. Our appeal to you, Sir, therefore is that in your days let there be no occasion for it. Our prayer in this resolution is that for the grant of full responsible government a time limit namely the end of the war, may be prescribed; but in the meanwhile please give us something more for which we have shown we are fit and which the government of the day, as also our benevolent Maharajas for a long time have admitted, even on the date of the inauguration of this Council our gracious Maharaja of the day admitted that His loyal subjects are fit to be associated more and more in the administration of the State. I am referring to that famous speech of the late lamented Highness who inaugurated this Council in the Hill Palace 18 years ago and we have shown that the trust placed in us by His Highness and his successor has been fully satisfied as seen from the success in the working of the diarchy as it obtains today. Therefore our prayer is that after the war full responsible government be granted to us in the interim and before the budget session of this year another instalment of reforms be granted. Let not your Government be driven to the necessity of running a Government by certification is my prayer.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* This is a resolution on which I cannot keep silent because, we have been from the very first Council agitating for Responsible Government. Let us see what the Cochin State is to-day compared to other parts of India. We have seen the spectacle of almost full Responsible Government in the Provinces of India, still some Provinces have responsible government while others have scrapped responsible government. It is admitted on all hands, that if there is any portion in India where the experiment of full responsible government may be safely tried, that portion is the Cochin State! *(Hear hear).* This was said by Bishop White-head, who was a student of politics as well when he was the Bishop of Madras, in an article in the 19th century. From that day to this day several years have rolled on, and it is admitted in time and out of time—I do not know how many times—in all the papers in India, that the Cochin State is the most learned or literate area in India. If that be so, and that is the observation made by others—surely, Sir, we are entitled to have at least the reforms that Provinces far behind us have attained in British India. At one time the argument was, if

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Cochin State is allowed a system of government, of the people, by the people for the people, great agitation would take place in British India, and therefore till British India advanced to that stage, even though the Cochin State is ripe for it, Cochin State must be denied that right. That was the attitude during the time of the abdicated Maharaja whose Photo is here. At that time it was thought that the Cochin State must be given a system of government almost equal to full responsible government. But the Madras Government under whom we were then placed, vetoed the proposal on the ground that Madras itself has not advanced to that stage. Now what is the State? Madras has advanced beyond that stage, and Madras has scrapped the Government as unsatisfactory—the responsible government that was given to them. Nevertheless where are we? We are in the Montague-Chemsford Reforms here. It has been completely scrapped. The slogan then was that progressive realisation of responsible government is the goal of the British Government in India. The progressive realisation of responsible government is the only thing that we also urge. We have got in British India long long ago an elected President of the Legislative Council. We have here the head of the administration as the Speaker in this House. On the one side, you sit as our President and pass our resolutions and on the other you get into the Diwan's Chair and you say "I veto the resolution"! That is the position. When we started here we did not even have the right to put a supplementary question. We went in deputation, went through all the troubles that we can give the Government within the law, and secured from them willingly—sometimes a little unwillingly—rights which others have.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Most willingly.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Always most willingly under pressure. We got the right of putting supplementary questions. During the time when Mr. Herbert was here we pressed and asked "can we not have atleast a Deputy President who is elected? "He said alright, I think you are entitled to it. But the law is against me. But I will put it into practice by convention. I will recommend a man whom you elect to His Highness". So we had the substance of that, before the form. Later on we got it in the form. Now up to this day all along British India have elected Presidents. We do not want all these Heads of Departments here, and they would be unnecessary for our purposes. They are the servants of the Government. They are not legislators. They are to carry out the Legislation in the country and they have got their departments to administer. We have great difficulties by the Government Servants coming here. We have to criticise them in their very face. But luckily for us we are a happy family here and there is no bad spirit. Supposing for instance all these Heads of Departments were from outside, and we begin to criticise them in their faces, when we go to them for any purpose there will be the difficulty to approach them. But here we know one another so well, and realise that we are both playing our part on the stage of politics, and we take it in that spirit. The great sporting spirit is here the spirit that is necessary in politics. We have got that spirit in Cochin. Therefore why not grant our desire and request. There will be no harm if some sitting here are transferred to that side. I can see several members who were here and are there now. They are quite efficient. After all, if we change into responsible government, subjects of His Highness the Maharaja, will still carry on the admitistration of Cochin, whereas Mr. Ayyappan may be translated into Minister or Mr. Ezhuthassan may be translated into a Minister or anybody else. Absolutely no harm will come.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* Why not Mr. Salem?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Mr. Salem comes from a minority. So there is no chance for him.

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam)*: I request that the President may be pleased to attend the after-noon session also.

Mr. President: When you want a non-official President, you want me to attend the afternoon session also. *(Laughter).*

The House Adjourned for lunch at 1 p.m. and re-assembled at 2-30 p.m. with Rao Sahib K. Ayyappan, Deputy President in the Chair.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, I have been stating that we have not even got an elected President of this Council. However belated we got a definition of the Government of Cochin. In this Council we have always asked for the definition of the Government of Cochin in former days and it was found to be a very difficult question, to answer. Everybody understands what the Government of Cochin is. But sometimes even a small officer also thought that he was part of the Government of Cochin. At last Government thought that it was time

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to give us what is called the Government of Cochin Act. That was during a time when a non-official politician of India became the Diwan of Cochin. Naturally then, non-official views prevalent in India came to bear upon the Government of Cochin and as a result of that we have got this Government of Cochin Act. With the Government of Cochin Act the era for asking for full responsible Government has gone in Cochin. *What has been given by the Government of Cochin Act is the consent to the idea of full responsible Government by the Government of Cochin!* Now, our only fight would be to fight within the Government of Cochin Act and get department after department transferred to the Transferred Half, to get more and more ministers appointed, thus carve out from the Reserved Half subjects to be brought under full popular control. We have also the scene here of having unseated a Minister! Some criticisms that were levelled against the Government of Cochin Act during the time it was passed was the question, is the Minister removable by a vote of the House? Telegrams came from Calcutta and other places enquiring whether that is allowed and the reply went "yes". By a convention, it is so, and we have practically demonstrated it. Even then, in Mysore today, the Ministers are not removeable, although they are drawn from the non-officials of the House. They are irremoveable. We have here full responsible Government in the sense that Ministers are removeable by an adverse vote of this House, and that is really Responsible Government. I am sure that the Hon'ble mover of the resolution means that almost all the departments should be handed over to Ministers. That cannot be the only meaning of the words "full responsible Government" be granted. For the declaration he has given a time. I say the time is not to be considered at all any more. We have got it. The only thing that we want is an amendment that the President shall be non-official and if that is so, the Diwan shall not be the President of the Council, and more and more subjects be transferred to the ministerial department—if all the subjects cannot be transferred, one can understand. I would respectfully say, that in all matters that are not governed by treaties between the Cochin Government and the Paramount Power, and in all matters where the Paramount Power is not concerned they could very safely be vouchsafed to the safe keeping of ministers drawn from this House. There will be absolutely no difficulty. But as regards a few subjects, which are the special responsibilities of Cochin being under the Paramount Power, in those subjects alone the Diwan may be made irresponsible to the House—irresponsible means not responsible to the House—besides those subjects, every other subject and every other department can certainly be handed over to the charge of ministers. No doubt, when ministers are there and the Diwan exercising special responsibilities is there consultation will take place. So long as that system is there and there is the steadying influence of the Palace the administration will run smooth always with the impact of popular opinion and conservatism from the Palace and we will get a happy system of Government, in the Cochin State. It would be a grand thing to show to the world at large, how in a little State composed of a million and a half, the people govern themselves. That would be a model picture that we can show to the world at large, and I do not see any reason why the Government of Cochin who are part and parcel of ourselves should ever stand in the way? Of course, an appeal was made to the Diwan. "In your days we should like to see it introduced." Although the Diwan of Cochin is the Diwan of Cochin, we must not forget that he is a Civilian bound by the Civil Service Rules bound by the conservative rules, and it is not to be expected that when civilians outside are standing against full responsible Government, our civilian Diwan should pave the way before us. But what happened in British India was, if I may say so with all respect, that all the form of full responsible Government was given without the essence of it. Such a system we do not want. If you are giving us anything you must give us the real substance and not the mere form. This book has given the real substance. But let us see what has happened? In the Government of Cochin Act, there are several very salutary rules laid down to pave the way to full responsible Government. The wishes of this House are to be respected, although it is laid down in the Government of Cochin Act that at first the Government or His Highness will lay down certain rules for the guidance of this House, but if the House comes to a different opinion, that opinion shall prevail. Let us see what has happened? When it began to be administered and when three Acts were passed here in this House, two Acts were accepted and one would not be accepted, although the wording in all the 3 sections relating to the Minister, the Deputy President and the Members of the House are almost identical. *Section 23 has not been acted upon by the Government*, whereas the other sections have been acted upon. I do not want to say anything more upon that. According to me the spirit and the letter of the Act is that more and more the various wishes of this House must prevail in matters relating to this House or to officers of this House. In practice, what happened, was when we pressed our

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opinion in matters in which the Government thought otherwise, Government simply kept quiet, and we are helpless, because nothing concerning His Highness we can bring here. You have got the veto power, you have got the appointing power to be exercised and that to be exercised on the recommendation of the Reserved Half. Therefore, in the fight for getting constitutional rights, if we are determined, we have to exercise powers within the Act to compel or to put pressure upon the Reserved Half of Government to yield. As far as the Minister is concerned, we cannot think that the Minister would stand against the wishes of the House prevailing. The passage of everything to His Highness is only through the Government and when it comes there whether it has gone there, what has happened there, we are not supposed to ask. Then what happens? You shall say that the old spirit is prevailing. We want a change of heart, and if with a change of heart you look into things, there is no doubt of any kind that the time has come for establishing full ministerial control of the affairs of Government, except what is covered by treaties. And if in an advanced State like Cochin we do not get it, that will be another additional reason for many other States behind to be told. "Look here. It has not been enacted even in the advanced State of Cochin. So it is not time for you". So, we will be retarding the progress and the progressive realisation of responsible Government even in other Indian States. Therefore, it is that we plead hard with the Government of Cochin today, to take a more liberal view of things and to respond to our demand. For instance today the Diwan of Cochin took it in a very good spirit when he said "you wanted a non-official President. So, why should I come?" A civilian bureaucrat, if he is scratched will be found to be a democrat. That is behind the skin. But unfortunately we all appear to be democrats, but if we are scratched, we are all autocrats. Our democracy is only skin-deep. If our views did not prevail, we are vexed in our spirit. That intolerance is naturally found, because we have been accustomed for a long time under autocracies, whereas Englishmen, although subjected to autocracy, they have rebelled generations ago and have become absolutely democrats. But when they come to India, they get the disease of India also to infect them and they become bureaucrats. That is the trouble that we get. Here in a conservative country, conservative in politics, conservative in religion and conservative in other ideas, we have got innumerable difficulties. Let us not therefore in the Cochin State add to the difficulties. Here we have come to a stage when we are really speaking, all one happy family, contending at pies only for a share of the loaves and fishes of office. Apart from that, there is no fight. When we have come to the Legislative Council, sometimes we fight for communalism, when we have got no other ticket on which to come to the Council. But apart from that, we are sufficiently advanced in all our sections. There is no really backward community, although some community is styled as backward in the Education Code. Cochin has a very intelligent population, a very law-abiding population, educated population, men and women equally progressive, and therefore I plead hard and respectfully ask the Government not to simply give us the stereo-typed answer, that it is only a question of time and that on the measure of the time, we are not agreed. You have the sand running down the glass. Almost very little is left in the upper glass and therefore it is time to change the glass and place it upside down, so that we may have a new era of responsible Government. Let us try it, unless there are other impediments in the way. But taking everything into consideration, it is clear that the British Government has expressly proclaimed to the world at large that if any Indian State wishes to advance, they may do so and they shall not stand in the way. With all this proclamation in our favour, is it too much to table a resolution like this that at least immediately after the war you may give us full responsible Government? You may say that is not necessary. You have given us already, only extend what you have given. With these words I give my hearty support to the resolution.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur)*: Sir, some 15 years ago when I was a student in the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam and when I used to attend this Council on the gallery, even then I used to hear Mr. Salem roaring out "progressive realisation of responsible Government". Those words still ring in my ears. He was more enthusiastic then, more commanding, more forceful. I am only adverting to this anecdote just for the purpose of inviting the attention of the Government to one important aspect. Those days when Mr. Salem tried for "progressive realisation of responsible Government" are gone. The words "progressive realisation" have no more a place and we have reached a stage when we should be definite of the time at which we will get full responsible Government. It is that definite stage which this resolution connotes and connotes as distinct from the several other resolutions which have been moved before this House. Whatever be the substance in the controversies that native States have not progressed as much as British Indian Provinces in constitutional matters, native States cannot be forgotten

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in an all-embracing scheme of the constitutional and political scheme for India. It is impossible for any constituted Government or for any sober school of political thought to ignore the existence of that important link in India—I mean the naitve States—in any new constitutional reform that may be introduced in the history of this country. And definitely the United Nations have thrown out a promise to British India that the end of this war will mean declaration of India's independence. I mean to say that declaration has a very important part to play in the history of native States. It is time for native States to decide whether they should form a 5th wheel in that chariot of the constitutional progress of India, whether even after India's attainment of freedom these native States should continue in that dormant corner bereft of responsible Government and their people should still live with open eyes to see their brothers in other parts of India enjoy that freedom. It is time for Government to consider whether it cannot enunciate a policy that is in consonance with the policy enunciated with the rest of India and make a declaration which is nothing but following the declaration made by the Britsh Government. To that limited extent at least you should be prepared to travel and if you are not prepared for that it will be really taking away the glory of the constitutional progress which you have so far made. As a matter of fact when constitutional reforms were inaugurated in Cochin and when from several corners in this House members rose to congratulate the Government, they made it clear before the Government that any congratulation offered to the constitutional reforms do not mean a satisfaction petition of all their claims to full responsible Government *(Hear, hear)*. On the other hand, they meant it quite distinctly as an appreciation of the mentality shown by the Government towards the direction of constitutional progress. As has been quite clearly explained by Mr. Ezhuthassan, a system of Government which has been notoriously known to brizzle with difficulties in its working has been must successfully worked in Cochin State. To my mind there is not a greater qualification that is required for the citizens of Cochin to conduct responsible Government than the way in which they have conducted themselves in working diarchy in the State. I would, therefore, earnestly request Government to take this resolution a bit more seriously than the way in which they used to deal with formerly, to think that it is time that they should find ways to revise their opinions and to complete what you have started nobly and well.

Mr. Ephraim Ouseph *(Narakkal)*: With this session our Council is completing its 18th year and it is in the fitness of things that this resolution is discussed now. By the law of our country with 18 years we finish our minority. I will be failing in my duty if I do not inform the Government of the general feeling in our State. There is a widespread feeling in our State that the non-official members are becoming more and more thankful for small mercies, that we have been brought into co-operation with the Government, with a 5 per cent democracy, that we are going into a Council which has very little power in the real control of the Government. Our real privelege consists entirely in annoying the Government side we expect the Government to support us and strengthen our hands in repudiating these charges. There is a great differance of opinion in the form of democratic executive that will be suitable for India, whether an executive responsible to and removeable by the legislature will be inferior or superior to the presidential type of democracy in which the executive will not be so removeable. But the real popular control will exist all the same. I think the better opinion among the constitutional theorists and lawyers is that in the interests of fixity of tenure and continuity of policy especially in the matter of long term reforms a presidential executive will be preferable. Whatever be the differance of opinion on that score we are all at one in our demand that the real control in the matter of administration and real control in the choice of the personnel which ought to advise our Beloved Maharaja in guiding the State, must be with us. Though we started this agitation long before Mysore started it, Mysore has gone farther than we have. We hope that the present regime will commemmorate itself by a considerable instalment of responsible Government before the next Council comes into being and a proclamation on the lines demanded by the resolutions will be immediately forthcoming,

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim *(Cranganur)*: Mr. President, Sir: I wholeheartedly support the resolution that has been brought by my Hon'ble friend for Kunnamkulam. The proposition has been very well argued at this time by some of the eminent personalities of the House and I do not feel myself called upon to enter into any detailed discussion of the same. My only simple attempt at this present juncture is to try in my own humble way to give an historical picture of the agitation for this demand that has been carried on the floor of this House both by the present Council and our Honoured predecessors. I have had occasion to deal with this apsect of the problem in a small speech which I was fortunate to make here before. I fully realise that it is rather tiring to read one's own speech. With all my heart I feel that a short time noted like

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this excludes resolution an extempore speech which may detract from the success of my attempt, if I tried in that line. So I request the House to bear with me when I go through the speech. The speech is not a very long one.

Sir, Cochin has been crying hoarse for the introduction of Constitutional Reforms. Ever since the inauguration of the Legislative Council in the State the representatives of the people have waged a continuous fight for reforms in the administrative machinery. The public at large outside the House has been enthusiastically following the lead set inside. It may be an act of rashness to attempt an exhaustive account of this fight here. A bare outline, however, is imperative to the occasion.

The fight began—as usual with such fights in a rather modest way. Almost immediately after a Legislative Council came into being in Cochin as early as 3rd August 1926 the elected representatives of the people set the ball in motion. Of the total of 30 non-official members of the House, as many as 28 presented to the Government a joint representation embodying a scheme of constitutional reforms to be introduced in Cochin. The memorialists of 1926 were soon disillusioned, as memorialists everywhere are. Vigorous parliamentary tactics were, therefore, resorted to. On 1st August 1929 began our struggle for reform in right earnest. The total General Administration demand for Rs. 62, 782 was refused by the Council on the occasion as a spectacular protest against the Government's attitude towards Constitutional Reforms.

On the 1st August 1939 opens another chapter of the story. The whole of the supplementary demand under General Administration was, with dramatic enthusiasm voted down by the House on that memorable day to censor the Government's constitutional policy. Four days later the main demand for General Administration was also *in toto* (Rs. 81,398) vetoed by the House on the same grounds.

The Budget session, 1930 of the Cochin Legislative Council is indeed a marvel of parliamentary opposition and obstruction to realise a constructive ideal. Demand after demand of the Government was guillotined by the elite of the public whose ire was naturally raised at the irresponsible nature of the administrative system.

The allotment of Rs. 39,656 for Accounts and Finance shared the same fate as its predecessors under General Administration. Law and Justice followed suit. The big sum of Rs. 1,73,917 that was to bring law and order in the land actually melted in the legislative furnace of the day. Perhaps this is why we are confronted with anarchy in all regions of power of our State to this day! Thus happened the two master-demonstrations of the House for constitutional advancement on the 6th day of the month of August in the year 1930.

Things do not stop there. The public ferment in the matter would not allow such a course. Even constitutional fights will lead the combatants to jails in a slave country. And so jails were not spared. The motion to omit the allotment of Rs. 40,517 for jails was almost summarily carried by the House. The House was in no mood for long wordy warfares. Not even the Police with its license for violence could frighten the House. The huge sum of Rs. 2,10,913 requested by the Department was bluntly refused by the House.

Public Works, however tame an affair it be, did not escape the forward rush of popular revolt. The 16 lakhs four thousand one hundred and thirtyfour rupees (what a sum) actually trembled in the balance. The motion to omit the allotment was voted as fifteen, Fifteen strong on either side when, lo and behold, the Diwan-President gave his casting vote against the motion. This accident of accidents proved itself when the very next demand of Excise to the tune of Rs. 92,085 was completely wiped off by a motion of the House. My Dominion of Cranganur also participated in the honour: the overturns made in her name by the Excise were stiffly dishonoured. Closely following this stir, came the Customs Demand and got itself shot. The demand was disallowed in its entirety.

The scene, attending the Demand of Public Works, came to be repeated on the advent of the Demand under Scientific Etc. Department with all its denominational mysteriousness. The nominated President played his appointed role against the people's Regiment of Fifteen. But the non-officials made up for this chance relapse, and effected a decided advance by means of a miscellaneous veto. The Government's motion to grant the allotment of Rs. 12,214 minus Re. 1 under XXXI Miscellaneous was put and negatived. The beauty of it was that there was no substantive non-official motion for the omission in this instance as in many of its unfortunate predecessors.

The banner of Democracy flew with equal glory in the sphere of Land Revenue. The fight becomes simple, silent, but withal, grim and decisive. There is very little noise and

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speechmaking. The demand is put, the vote is taken and mark, the grant is negatived. The huge sum of 2 lakhs and 41,971 rupees simply evaporates in the heat of popular wrath. The constitution cataract followed up the Medical Department. The voting read as 17 for progress and 18 for stagnation. But for the absence of veterans like the Hon'ble Member for Kunnamkulam from the House on the day, the conservatives would have been completely routed. This momentary aberration in the turn of the wheel of chance got the proper control when the Demand for Rs. 8,900 under XXII Vaccination came close on the heels of Medicine. The non-official victory was complete. The official demand aborted by the cleverness of the constitutional surgeons.

And now sound a veritable stampede of the Reform March. Demand after demand made by the irresponsible Bureaucracy perishes on the alter of Democracy. The demands under XXIII—Sanitation and Conservancy—Rs. 87,125; under XXV—Stationery and Printing—Rs. 84,800; under Forests Rs. 3,79,789; under Tramway—Rs. 1,28,700; under Registration—Rs. 56,216; under Stamps—Rs. 33,636; under Anchal—Rs. 76,464: under Agriculture and Panchayats—Rs. 3,63,909 are all, one after another, thrown out by the House to paralyse the anti-reform Government. Any Government that has the least pretention of a popular sanction behind it would have quietly vacated office in the face of such a Himalayan censure only the part of the elected representatives of the people. To continue the story of our Reform Movement.

The next land-mark in the course of the agitation for constitutional reforms in Cochin is a cut motion, passed by the Legislative Council on 23rd March 1931. The issue was importunated upon in the very next year, on the 28th November 1932, when a cut-motion was carried in the House all the non officials supporting the motion and all the officials opposing it. The voting was 25 ayes and 11 noes.

The constitutional revolt received fresh momentum when on 3rd August 1933 the whole of the General Administration Demand amounting to Rs. 77,153 was voted down by the House to denounce the Sirkar's hesitating policy towards the democratisation of the Govermental machinery. 22 champions of the peoples' cause won the day against the 15 hench-men of the Bureaucracy.

The very next year (24th January 1934) heard a repetition of the cry for popular ministerial Government through a resolution passed by the House.

On 1st August 1935 the new Council played its part, true to the traditions of the House, by passing a cut-motion to protest against the lethargy of the Government regarding the introduction of constitutional reforms. As many as 33 voted for the motion and the Government's forces counted as low as 16.

"This was followed by a cut motion of Mr. Ayyappan," the Hon'ble Deputy President, Rao Sahib Ayyappan "on the 15th of Karkadagam 1111 which to avoid every possibility as to doubt of practicability, demanded the transference of certain departments only to ministerial control and was unanimously passed by this House. The last performance was brightened and crowned by the assurance given by the Diwan on the floor of this House."

"One full year has elapsed since the dawn of hope in the non-official section of the House and the public of Cochin and while wonderful transformations have taken place in the constitutional status of the British Indian people, with whom we are asked to form the components of the Federal structure, where are we? We are still where we were before, in the stage of constitutional Government. No modern development in the constitutional surroundings of ours has changed the primitive aspect of our Governmental system. Well, Sir, we would be proud to be called the Unifiers of our mother-land. But what can we, the Political Parhias, achieve, in an assembly of mostly free men with all the backing of the newly—formed representative system in British India? There can never be that harmony and good will between unequals, especially in political matters, which are so essential for the unity, and prosperity of the Indian people. Hence I would tell the Government that the first condition precedent to the accession of this State to the Federation is the grant of full responsible Government to the people of Cochin. That, and that alone would make the laudable object of the political unity of India an accomplished fact."

I have no more argument to advance in support of the present proposition and hence I beg to conclude.

Rama Varmha Tampuran *(Secretary to Government):* This is a subject that is coming almost at every meeting. Only four or five weeks ago I had the privilege of addressing the house on a more or less similar resolution slightly differently worded. It is a very serious subject and

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to have to discuss it with all the solemnity and seriousness at the end of every sixth or seventh week is almost an impossibility. I think the best thing is to refer the House to what I stated at that time. I said, then, that the Government have carefully noted the wishes of the House and wishes of the country and there has been no occasion for the House to think that such a wish was being ignored. On the other hand I pointed out that as has been said on previous occasions, Government have made it clear at several times that their wish particularly has been to associate the elected representatives of this House more and more with the active day to day administration of the country. And now four or five weeks have passed and you cannot expect the Government to take up a fresh attitude within this short time. It would be very nice if it be made a principle that such important resolutions come up only once in a year and at longer intervals rather than at each session. That will add to the dignity of the discussion and that would be more appropriate with the seriousness of the subject. Well; whatever be opinion on that point, of course, this Government when it looks back on its achievements in constitutional reforms in the last 15 years has not very much to be ashamed of. It has gone long strides in taking the people to the goal of full responsible self-government. Compared with the other States in India this Government is not any the weaker in its elected half of the administration. As a matter of fact it is still in the fore-front so far as constitutional progress is concerned. The long speeches that some of the Hon'ble members made this afternoon made it clear more than anything else that this Government have already achieved a great extent in the progress of administration of self-government. Now what is wanted by this resolution is that a declaration should be made by His Highness the Maharaja that immediately after the war, full responsible self-government will be granted. As a matter of fact nothing has been said, nor by any act has the Government indicated that it is not the wish of the Government to grant more and more of self-governn ent as time passes. There is nothing so far as I can see in any fresh declaration at every step. There has been nothing on the part of the government to indicate that they have departed from the policy that they have openly declared on very solemn occasions more than once. It is not so much in declarations that we should pin our faith. It is more on the mutual understanding between the Reserved Half and the Transferred Half and so long as Government have not done anything so far which shows that they have departed from their declared path there is nothing, so far as I can see, for another fresh declaration and that too about something that is to happen immediately after the war. We all know very much there is no doubt that the war will end as soon as possible and we have also no doubt whatsoever as to how the war is going to end. But to give a declaration now as to what should be done immediately after the war, is really asking the government too much. This is the subject where even angels dread to tread. Therefore we should be more cautious in the attitude that we take, not that we are unsympathetic to the request. As a matter of fact nothing has been done by the Government to indicate want of sympathy on their part in this matter. As a matter of fact at every stage they have shown their extreme sympathy in this line. Even when the Chelmsford Reforms were passed, it was made the rule that the next step in the Reform will be after ten years. I am only giving an instance where a time limit was fixed even by statute. That is only just to show that we have to move rather cautiously in matters like this. We cannot off-hand give declarations as to what should be the kind of government that we should have immediately after the war. That would be rather just taking a jump into the dark. We should be more cautious. So far as the State is concerned we have nothing to be sorry for, by which any one could say that we have not advanced far compared with other Indian States. Take the case of the advanced Mysore, take the case of Baroda, take the case of advanced Gwalior or the advanced Indore or other advanced States. There is no use of saying that those States are not advanced. It is wrong to say that Mysore, Baroda, or Gwalior, or Indoor has not advanced as much as Cochin State. That will be against facts. These States are equally well-advanced as we are.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Does the Government Secretary know the percentage of literacy in Mysore?

Rama Varmha Tampuran *(Secretary to Government):* The percentage of literacy is the test. Compared with that we are not worse off. Certainly we will progress. But there should always be a spirit of caution in the acts of Government and we cannot take a jump into the dark. Therefore I have rather to stick to the position I took on the last occasion and to say that the Government have noted all that has passed here and the Government will do according to the wishes of the House as quickly as possible.

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മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: സർ, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവൺമെണ്ടു് സിക്രട്ടറിയുടെ ചില പ്രസ്താവനകളെ വളരെ സങ്കടത്തോടുകൂടി പ്രതിഷേധിക്കാതിരിക്കുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. പക്ഷേ, എന്റെ ഔദ്യോഗിക നിലവെച്ചു് ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഔദ്യോഗികമായ ചില രഹസ്യങ്ങൾ പുറത്തു പറയേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു് ഞാൻ ആ ഭാഗങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ പറയണമെന്നു ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. മൈസൂറിനേക്കാളും, ബറോഡയേക്കാളും എന്നുവേണ്ട ഇൻഡ്യയിലുള്ള മറ്റെല്ലാ നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളെക്കാളും കൊച്ചീരാജ്യം സാക്ഷരതയിലും, വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലും, സംസ്കാരത്തിലും വളരെ മുമ്പോട്ടാണു് നില്ക്കുന്നതു്. എന്നതൊന്നായല്ല, ജനാധിപത്യലോകത്തെ നിലനിർത്തുന്നതിനു് ലോകം അതിയായ പ്രസവവേദനപ്പെടുന്നതായ ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിലും, അഥവാ ലോകസംസ്കാരം നിലനിർത്തുവാനുള്ള മഹാ പരിശ്രമത്തിലും കൊച്ചിയിലെ ജനത ധനശക്തിയേയും ജനസംഖ്യയേയും അപേക്ഷിച്ചു്, മറ്റെല്ലാ നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളേക്കാളും, സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങളേക്കാളും വളരെ അധികം സഹകരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു് ഞാൻ അഭിമാനത്തോടുകൂടി പറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു. അതായതു്—നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തുള്ള ഏറ്റവും യോഗ്യന്മാരും, സമർത്ഥന്മാരുമായ യുവാക്കന്മാരുടെ ജീവനേയും രക്തത്തേയും ഇന്നത്തെ ജനാധിപത്യം നിലനിർത്തുന്നതിനുള്ള ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ മഹായുദ്ധത്തിൽ ബലികഴിക്കുകയും, നാം നമ്മുടെ ശക്തിക്കപ്പുറമായി പണംകൊണ്ടും, ബുദ്ധികൊണ്ടും സഹകരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതെന്നുള്ള ആ പ്രധാന തത്വത്തെ ആസ്പദമാക്കിയാണു്, ഈ മഹായുദ്ധം കഴിഞ്ഞതിന്റെ ശേഷം പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം തരണമെന്നു് ഈ പ്രമേയം മൂലം മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിനോടു് അഭ്യർത്ഥിക്കുന്നതു്. ഇതു് പത്തു പതിനെട്ടു കൊല്ലമായി ഈ നിയമസഭ ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന മിതമായ ഒരു അപേക്ഷ മാത്രമാണു്. ഇതിൽ കൂടുതലായി എനിക്കു് ഇവിടെ പറയുന്നതിനു നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തതിൽ വ്യസനിക്കുന്നു. ഈ മഹായുദ്ധം അവസാനിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ ഇടക്കുള്ള സമയങ്ങളിൽ പ്രായോഗികമായ വിധത്തിൽ കുറേശ്ശെ, കുറേശ്ശെ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകളും ജനകീയ ഭരണത്തിനു വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണു്.

മിസ്റ്റർ എ. വി. മൂത്തേടൻ: അതു വേണ്ട.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: ഞാൻ എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായമാണു് പറയുന്നതു്. കുറെ ഡിപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടുകളും കൂടി ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മന്ത്രിയുടെ കീഴിലേക്കു് വിട്ടുകൊടുക്കുകയൊ, അല്ലെങ്കിൽ കൂടുതൽ മന്ത്രിമാരെ വെക്കുകയൊ ചെയ്തു് ജനപ്രതിനിധികളെ കൂടുതൽ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണത്തിലേക്കു് കൊണ്ടുവരികയും, ഈ മഹായുദ്ധം അവസാനിക്കുന്നതിന്റെ പിറ്റെ ദിവസം പരിപൂർണ്ണ ഉത്തരവാദിത്വഭരണം തരണമെന്നുമാണു് ഞാൻ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നതു്. ഇതിനേക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായി ഈ അവസരത്തിൽ പറയണമെന്നു് ഞാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. വാസ്തവം, പറയുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഇന്നത്തെ ജനാധിപത്യത്തെ നിലനിർത്തുന്നതിനുള്ള ഈ യുദ്ധത്തിൽ മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങളേക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായി കൊച്ചീരാജ്യവും, ഇവിടത്തെ ജനങ്ങളും സഹായിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു് ഒരു അനുദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്റെ നിലയിൽ എന്നേക്കാൾ കൂടുതലായി അറിവുള്ള ഒരാൾ ഈ നിയമസഭയിൽ വേറെ ഇല്ല.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: Question.

മിസ്റ്റർ സി. വി. ഇയ്യു: ഞാൻ ഈ റസല്യൂഷൻ പ്രസ്സു ചെയ്യുന്നു.

Resolution was put and carried

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri)*: Poll, Sir.

Ayes

1. Mr. A. B. Salem.
2. ,, Ephraim Ouseph.
3. ,, A. V. Moothedan.
4. ,, M. Nanu Menon.
5. ,, K. J. Thomas.
6. ,, L. M. Pylee.
7. ,, A. Eachara Menon.
8. ,, M. K. Devassy.
9. ,, K. R. Ramakrishnan.
10. ,, T. S. Ramachandra Ayyar.
11. ,, C. K. Nayar.
12. ,, C. V. Iyyu.
13. ,, M. Krishna Menon.
14. Mr. T. P. Poulose.
15. ,, K. S. Panicker.
16. ,, K. M. Ibrahim.
17. ,, A. T. Kunhipalu.
18. ,, K. Narayana Menon.
19. ,, P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.
20. ,, B. M. Peter.
21. ,, N. Govinda Pai.
22. ,, K. T. Achuthan.
23. ,, P. P. Devassy.
24. ,, C. K. S. Moni.
25. ,, P. K. Krishnan.
26. ,, K. Kunhirama Menon.

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Noes

1. Mr. P. V. Raphael.
2. ,, Rao Sahib I. N. Menon.
3. ,, P. V. Lonappen.
4. ,, Rao Sahib Dr. T. Verghese.
5. ,, S. Venkiteswaran.
6. ,, A. Madhava Prabhu.
7. Mr. M. M. Paul.
8. ,, M. Sivarama Menon.
9. Rama Varmha Tampuran.
10. ,, C. J. Mathew.
11. ,, Khan Sahib Y. Muhammed Roshan Sahib Bahadur.
12. ,, V. K. Bhaskara Menon.

Deputy President: 26 for and 13 against, the *motion is carried.*

Resolution No. 22
Widening the Franchise

Mr. C. V. Iyyu *(Kunnamkulam): This Council recommends to the Government to widen the Franchise to such an extent as to bring the same on a par with that of a Provincial Legislative Assembly in British India.*" സർ, ഈ സഭ ആരംഭിച്ച കാലം മുതൽ ഉത്തരവാദിതപ്രഭരണത്തിനുവേണ്ടിയുള്ള പരിശ്രമംപോലെതന്നെ പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശത്തിനു വേണ്ടിയും ഈ നിയമസഭയുടെ അകത്തും പുറത്തും പ്രമേയങ്ങൾ പാസ്സാക്കുകയും, വേണ്ടതായ മറ്റു പ്രചരണവേലകളും നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ രാഷ്ട്രീയപുരോഗതിയിൽ താല്പര്യം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന പല മഹാന്മാരായ പൌരന്മാരും നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഞാൻ പറയാതെതന്നെ നിങ്ങൾക്കു അറിവുള്ളതാണല്ലൊ. കൊച്ചിയേക്കാൾ സാക്ഷരതയിൽ വളരെ പിന്നിൽ നില്ക്കുന്ന ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ മറ്റു സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽപോലും സാക്ഷരതാവോട്ടവകാശം നല്കിയിരിക്കെ, ഇവിടത്തെ നിയമസഭ വോട്ടവകാശയോഗ്യത വിപുലമാക്കാതെ കഴിഞ്ഞുകൂടിപോരുകയാണു് ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഇതു ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ പുരോഗമനത്തെ ഏറ്റവും പിന്നിൽ നിറുത്തുന്ന ഒരു സമ്പ്രദായമായിട്ടുവേണം ഇതെപ്പറ്റി വിചാരിക്കുവാൻ. പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശം അനുസരിച്ചു് തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ടന്നതാണു് ഒരു നിയമസഭയുടെ ആദർശപരമായ നിയമമെന്നുള്ളതു് ഞാൻ പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു പറയേണ്ടതായിട്ടില്ല. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട മട്ടാഞ്ചേരി മെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഇൻഡ്യയിലെ നാട്ടുരാജ്യങ്ങളെപോലെതന്നെ നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യവും പുരോഗമിക്കണമെന്നും, തന്നിമിത്തം അവിടെയുള്ള സംസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലെ ചില അസംബ്ലികളിൽ വോട്ടവകാശം വിപുലീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുപോലെ നമുക്കും അത്യാവശ്യമാണെന്നുമാണു് ഞാൻ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നതു്. ഇതിനെസംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള തത്വങ്ങൾ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഓഫ് ഇൻഡ്യ ആക്ടിൽ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു മുഴുവനും ഞാൻ വായിച്ചു് ഈ സഭയുടെ സമയത്തെ അനാവശ്യമായി നഷ്ടപ്പെടുത്തണമെന്നു് ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നില്ല. എന്നിരുന്നാലും ഇതിലെ ചില പ്രധാന തത്വങ്ങളെ മാത്രം വായിക്കാമെന്നു് വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനമായിട്ടുള്ള കാര്യം സാക്ഷരതാ വോട്ടവകാശമാണു്. നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തു് സാക്ഷരതാത്തിന്റെ നില നോക്കുമ്പോൾ സാക്ഷരതാ വോട്ടവകാശം നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുന്നതിനോടുകൂടി പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശം മിക്കവാറും നടപ്പിൽ വന്നതായി കരുതാം. പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശംതന്നെ ഈ നിയമസഭയും, ഗവമ്മെണ്ടും വളരെ കാലമായി പഞ്ചായത്തു തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിൽ അംഗീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു തത്വമാണു്. അതിന്റെ ഭരണം വളരെ കാലമായി കുറെയൊക്കെ തൃപ്തികരമായി നടന്നുവരുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതും സമ്മതിക്കാതെ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല. പിന്നെ പഞ്ചായത്തു കോടതികളുടെ കാര്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു മാത്രമേ തർക്കമുള്ളൂ. പ്രായപൂർത്തി വോട്ടവകാശം ഗ്രാമീണ സ്വയംഭരണത്തിൽ നടപ്പിൽ വന്നിട്ടുള്ള ഈ രാജ്യത്തു സാക്ഷരതാ വോട്ടവകാശമെങ്കിലും നിയമസഭാ തിരഞ്ഞെടുപ്പിനു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുന്നതുനിമിത്തം തിരഞ്ഞെടുക്കപ്പെട്ട മെമ്പർമാരുടെ പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യം കുറെകൂടി പൊതുജന പ്രാതിനിദ്ധ്യത്തോടുകൂടിയായിരിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതു് നമുക്കു ഏറ്റവും പ്രധാനമായി ചിന്തിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു സംഗതിയണു്.

രണ്ടാമതായിട്ടു് വളരെ പ്രാധാന്യം അർഹിക്കുന്ന ഒരു സംഗതി വെമ്പാട്ടുക്കാർക്കു വോട്ടവകാശം കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. കാഞ്ചികാശ്വാസ ബിൽ കഴിഞ്ഞ ഫ ഫ ഫ ർ-ലെ ബഡ്ജറ്റു സമ്മേളനത്തിൽ പാസ്സാക്കി. കഴിഞ്ഞ നിയമസഭയിൽ പാസ്സാവുകയും തുക്കൈവിളയാടുകയുംചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള വെമ്പാട്ട നിയമംമൂലം നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിലെ കർഷകർക്കു് സ്ഥിരാവകാശം ലഭിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. മദ്രാസ്സു് സംസ്ഥാനത്തിൽ സ്ഥിരാവകാശം ലഭിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള കർഷകർക്കു് ഫൻസ 8-ലെ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടു് ഓഫ് ഇൻഡ്യ ആക്ടു് അനുസരിച്ചു എട്ടു കൊല്ലംമുമ്പെ വോട്ടവകാശം ലഭിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. അവിടെ കുടിയിരുപ്പുകാർക്കുകൂടി വോട്ടവകാശം നല്കി

LIBRARY ARCHIVES Kerala Legislative Assembly